/82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from an exogamous kinship grouping.

The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

The connection established by Friedericy between class and kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
581 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
612 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore,
581 to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the
612 standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

554 Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
578 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
602 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
602

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

1:Chabot--188 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

/139/

Chapter III

Sex

593 In the chapter concerning kinship, the relationships of the members of the family among each other were treated separately. The relationship of brother to sister occupied a special place in this connection.

Their separation implies that their interests lie in different areas, that is to say, that both their activities as well as the places where they reside are different. These differences also form the pattern for the relationship between men and women in general.

562 The vertical tendency described in the previous chapter demands of the men that they be in a constant relation of opposition to other men. The violent actions and responses [831] that are expected of them go hand in hand with ideas about great sexual potency, which is ascribed to them. The high [157] demands made of men coincide with anxieties about not being able to fulfill these demands. A sense of inadequacy can be observed repeatedly.

157 In the first part of this chapter, modes of conduct, attitudes, and personality norms of the two sexes will be 562 described. After that, a number of inadequacy phenomena will be discussed. Prostitution as an expression of maladjustment on the part of women, and polygamy as an actualization of the vertical tendency by a man with exceptional personal qualities, will be briefly mentioned at the end.

• 581 In the previous chapter we referred to the central position which marriage occupies in Makassarese society. In the choice of marriage partners, the older people apply standards of selection based upon kinship, status, and personal qualities. They intend to bring about a normal sexual union between man and wife. The description of the marriage

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether
857 it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
583
589

4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

589 /163 cont./ Today, just as fifteen to twenty years ago, a comparatively large number of men and women remain unmarried. The above-mentioned reasons may be of influence upon the number of those who remain unmarried during a certain period of time and in a certain group. An explanation of the same phenomenon during this period in the lower classes must be attempted separately.

●581 Marriage seemed to be one of the most important events in the related group. The older people who bring about the marriages unconsciously apply a criterion of selection in the choice of those they are bringing together in marriage. The young man of whom they expect that he will contribute to the standing of their group has preference. This must be someone, therefore, who is always prepared to outdo others /164/ and to guard against the impairment of his own standing. Outdoing 156 other men and the conquest of women are two matters which in 584 the Makassarese conception go together in a man. The young men who possess these qualities to a strong degree frequently take the initiative toward marriage themselves, however limited the opportunities for this may be. Furthermore, there is a large number of men who do not get to take the initiative and begin to refuse when their marriage is announced to them, but who in the end let themselves be persuaded. There are those who externally let themselves be persuaded but who continue to refuse sexual union and in so doing cause the marriage to fail (1).

1. See below, pp. 273ff.

156 Finally, there are a number of men who refuse to marry and upon whom the parents exert little further pressure. These 589 are the ones of whom it is believed that they would contribute little to the standing of the related group. Their fear of being inadequate in sexual relations with their wife, just as they are

156 /164 cont./ inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact that the older people do not consider these individuals capable of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever proceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed by further investigation, that among the unmarried women these docile types are still the most frequent. The more aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner. An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was thinking of the possibility of siri' problems arising. The fact that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequently remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have a better chance of marrying.

• [581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/ appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon. Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581] [558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little [585] games" /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of [581] the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;

[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should

● [581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will be come apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse

581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For

833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those

[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
●581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka', when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past